LATIN AMERICA: SHALL WE LOSE IT? by WALDO FRANK

THE Nation

August 15, 1953
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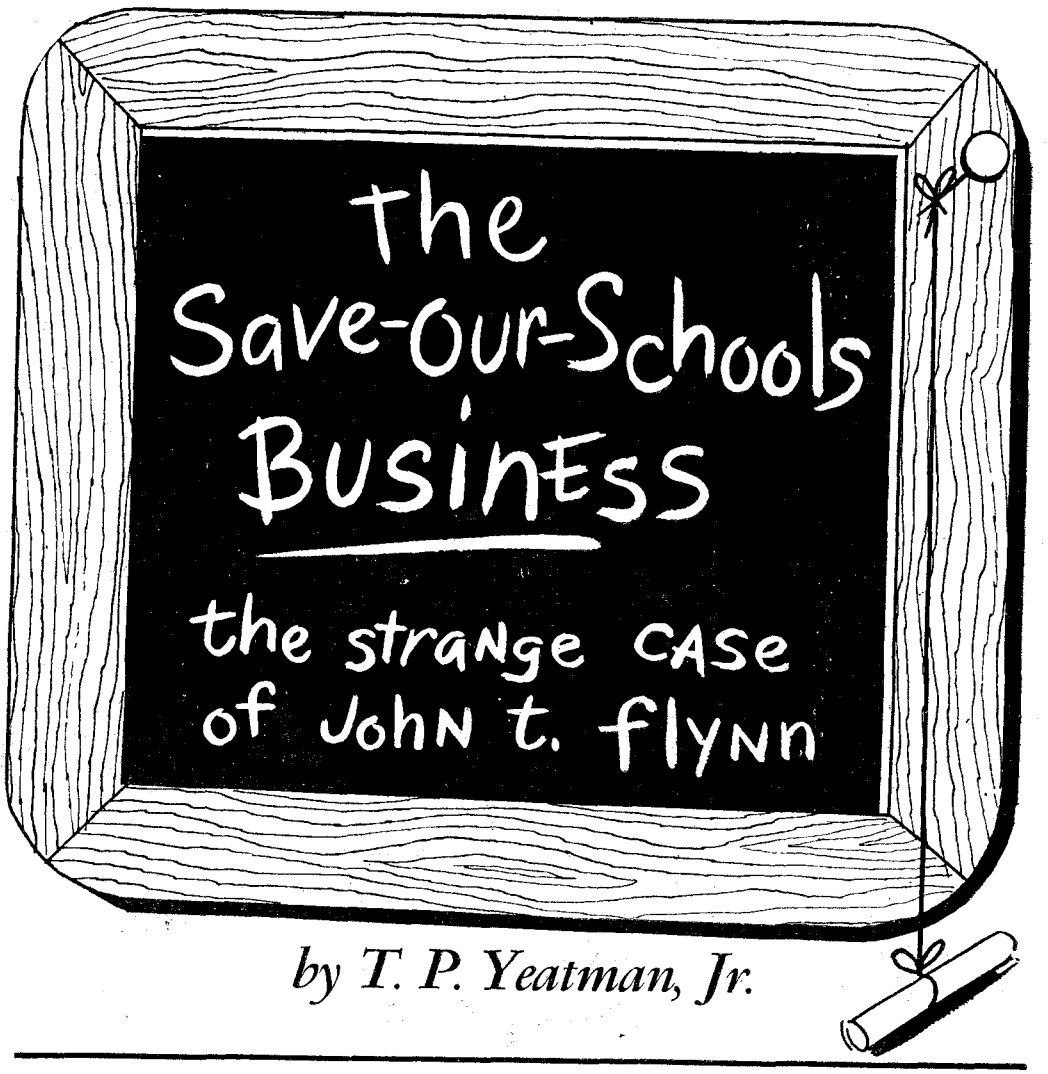

by T. P. Yeatman, Jr.

One-Party Television — *Bruce Catton*

German Military Dynamic — *J. A. del Vayo*

André Gide — *Joseph Wood Krutch*

A Review of Justin O'Brien's "Portrait"

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

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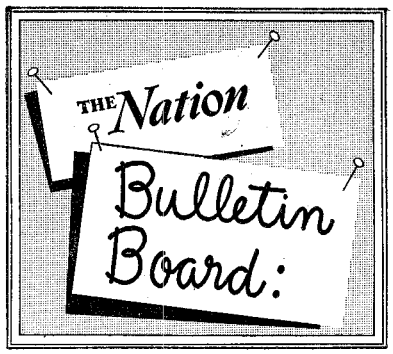

EMERSON once said "a foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds." In this time of recantation and disavowal of past beliefs there are many who might call on Emerson to support them. Whether or not you agree with him, you'll be fascinated by the Yeatman study (page 128) of The Strange Case of John T. Flynn—the story of a man who certainly hasn't permitted a "foolish consistency" to shackle his mind. If Mr. Flynn would like to offer an observation, we submit the wise words of the child who said, "My memory is the thing I forget with."

. . . Professor Alfred McClung Lee in his interesting book on "How to Understand Propaganda" (Rinehart) deplores today's "pall of orthodoxy." He writes: "To combat the growing and stultifying orthodoxy of our day we must somehow find new ways to learn what is actually happening in the major power struggles internationally, nationally, and locally." Lee suggests one way when he adds that such "unorthodox publications" as *The Nation* "have an influence vastly greater than their tiny circulations, and their kind should be multiplied."

. . . The Honolulu *Record* and the Honolulu *Advertiser* both reprinted the article by Judge Metzger on why he was no longer a federal judge from the July 18 *Nation*. The *Record* noted that Delegate Joseph Farrington's Honolulu *Star-Bulletin* had ducked the story thus far. . . . Kansas City *Call* ran Peter Abrahams's July 11 piece on the Jomo Kenyatta trial. . . . St. Louis *Post-Dispatch*, in its "Between the Book-Ends" column, used Judge Charles E. Clark's brilliant *Nation* review of William Winslow Crosskey's "Politics and the Constitution in the History of the United States." . . . National *C. I. O. News* ran a good-sized feature based on Ben Pearse's July 25 article on the labor press. Reaction to this article from labor circles was that Pearse knew his way around a very complicated field. . . . Malcolm Logan's Fable for Americans was picked up by the Reverend Eugene Kreves for his bulletin, *Natural Religion*. Mr. Kreves also commented that *The Nation* "is one of the best journals of contemporary life."

. . . A California friend writes us that the Council of the Los Angeles Medical Association has passed a resolution banning Communist doctors from membership on the ground that "any member of the Communist Party cannot act in a manner to accord with the letter or spirit of the Principles of Medical Ethics of the [A. M. A.]." This may include abjuring such matters as good old capitalistic fee-splitting and replacing the scalpel with the sickle. Our friend adds: "Next time the doctor reaches for your appendix, find out if he's had his loyalty check-up."

. . . Here's how one *Nation* reader made effective use of the magazine. John Grifalconi of Cincinnati, Ohio, asked for, and got, permission to reprint Alan Barth's spring article on threats to academic freedom (Congress on the Campus). He then had the piece reproduced via photo-offset and sent it to a large group of people.

. . . Dr. Fritz Sternberg, distinguished economist and a *Nation* contributor, will be in Los Angeles Wednesday evening, August 19, to speak on "The Change in the Nature of War." Dr. Sternberg's address is sponsored by the Unitarian Fellowship for Social Justice of Los Angeles.

. . . *Nation* readers might like to combine some relaxation with the opportunity to say hello to Carey McWilliams—who will give a talk the weekend of August 15 on Freedom and American Culture at Ann Chester's pleasant resort in Woodbourne, New York.

. . . Along with a three-year renewal ($17—saving of $4 over the one-year renewal rate) comes this letter from a government employee: "I do not presume that my beliefs are necessarily yours or that they ought to be. It is enough that you continue to have the courage to describe and interpret as objectively and intelligently as you are now doing, regardless of whom the truth displeases."

Letters

Voice of Freedom

Dear Sirs: I am astonished that there is not more objection in America to the inquisition by your new Holy Office into the lives and opinions of American citizens and eminent aliens. The law which permits this inquisition is a bad one, and in my opinion everyone, whatever his opinion, ought to refuse to obey this law in order to promote its repeal. It is somewhat ironic that in America, which was once regarded as the land of liberty, the most resounding voice in favor of freedom should come from a German. I sincerely hope that Einstein's splendid lead will be widely followed. BERTRAND RUSSELL

Richmond, England

Letter from Casals

Dear Sirs: I write to you in the hope that you will join me in aiding the thousands of Spanish refugees in France whose losing battle for freedom and subsequent exile from their homeland has been forgotten. Many of them are today in hospitals. Thousands are destitute—in need of food, medical care, and, not the least, moral encouragement.

A few of my American and European friends have joined together to form Spanish Refugee Aid, Inc., of which the New York address is 45 Astor Place, Room 311, New York 3, N. Y. Your contributions to this organization will be used for immediate help to these unfortunate human beings.

Prades, France PABLO CASALS

Clarification from Dr. Hsu

THE EDITORS have received a letter, unfortunately too long for publication in full, from Francis L. K. Hsu, whose book, "Americans and Chinese: Two Ways of Life," together with "North from Malaya," by William O. Douglas, was reviewed on July 11 by Owen Lattimore. Mr. Hsu makes four points:

1. He is an anthropologist, not a sociologist.

2. Mr. Lattimore wrote that "Mr. Hsu was born in South Manchuria and went to high school in North Manchuria; so that the first foreign influences to impinge on him were Japanese and Russian rather than Western." Mr. Hsu states that "all the Chinese schools . . . were run on a Western model," and that English, not Japanese or Russian, was the second language.

(Continued on inside back cover)

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THE Nation

EVERY WEEK SINCE 1865

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things

Washington Takes It Calmly

The timing and manner of Malenkov's announcement that "the United States has no monopoly in the production of the hydrogen bomb" are perhaps more significant than the feverishly discussed issue of its accuracy. The whole statement was refreshingly matter-of-fact and nonbelligerent. Once again the Soviet Premier emphasized that outstanding differences could be settled by agreement, reaffirmed Russia's desire for "a peaceful coexistence of the two systems," and specifically denied the existence of any "objective grounds" for a collision between the U. S. S. R. and the United States. Epithets were sparingly used, and at one point Malenkov referred to "the ideology and policy of the most aggressive groups in the United States"—a pleasant concession that the policy of these groups is not necessarily that of the American people.

The timing doubtless foreshadows a new Russian initiative in the United Nations on disarmament and international control of atomic weapons. Paradoxically it may be easier to achieve a "balanced," stage-by-stage plan of disarmament and atomic control now that the Soviets have both the A-bomb and the hydrogen bomb, since they need no longer fear that the stage-by-stage procedure would weaken them while simply postponing any real progress on atomic control. The United States may also be more inclined to negotiate now that it no longer holds the trump cards: collective bargaining has always implied some degree of equality in the strength of the parties. Perhaps because Congress was on its way home, Malenkov's statement was received in Washington with none of the near-hysteria displayed after President Truman's announcement of September 23, 1949, that the Soviets had exploded an atomic bomb. Can it be that each side is developing a more mature appreciation of the other's strengths and weaknesses?

With a Dash of Bitters

Reporting on his thirty-six-day visit to ten South American republics, Dr. Milton S. Eisenhower explained that a major purpose of his mission had been to obtain "a broad continental perspective" on conditions affecting our relations with Latin America. The failure to develop such a perspective—the approach suggested by Waldo Frank's article in this issue—has consistently undercut our well-meaning but intermittent and often absent-minded attempts to establish mutually beneficial and durable relations with the Latin American republics. When larger issues have loomed, we have neglected these relations in a manner that has infuriated our neighbors; to be treated in an off-hand, forgetful fashion is even more irritating than to be slapped down or bullied.

Since the start of the Korean war, and particularly in the last two years, we have acted as if Latin America did not exist; now, belatedly, we are showing a reawakened but naive awareness. It would be pleasant to believe that Dr. Eisenhower's amiable public-relations sortie had repaired the damage, but the bullish reports on his mission must be taken, as the *Journal of Commerce* suggests, with "more than a dash of paprika." What he gave the Latin Americans was a pat on the back. Indeed, about all he could tell them was to be patient and wait for the publication, one year hence, of the report of the seventeen-man commission studying foreign economic problems. What they wanted to hear, of course, was that the Export-Import Bank would step up credits for the development projects on which they pin so large a measure of their hope for economic improvement.

Skirmish on Capitol Hill

In the skirmish on Capitol Hill over the Administration's request for a $15,000,000,000 increase in borrowing power, the Democrats, united for once, forced the Secretary of the Treasury to retreat in some disorder. Now if toward the end of the year the government is unable to meet its bills, it will be compelled to call a special session of Congress and stand in the spotlight defending itself against charges of extravagance.

For this setback Mr. Humphrey has largely himself to blame. A request for a modest increase in the debt limit would have been legitimate. The anticipated gap between income and expenditure in the second half of 1953 is $10,500,000,000, to cover which $6,000,000,000 has already been borrowed. Another $2,500,000,000 could be borrowed under the present law, and the rest could be obtained by drawing on Treasury cash holdings, which could be safely reduced to $4,000,000,000. But since

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proceeding on these lines would leave little margin for miscalculations or emergencies, an increase in the debt limit of, say, $2,000,000,000, could have been defended.

Mr. Humphrey not only asked for too much; he also attempted to rush Congress by postponing his request until the legislators were set to adjourn. His excuse that he was waiting to see what happened to the appropriation bills was thin, for since Congress has consistently voted less than the Administration asked, he has long known what his maximum liabilities would be.

The increase requested was ridiculously excessive unless the Administration is anticipating a new international crisis, or unless, as some Democrats suspect, it hoped to raise the debt limit quietly this summer the better to cut it dramatically next year when such action would have the maximum electoral impact.

New Crisis in Asia

In his address to the Governors' Conference at Seattle, President Eisenhower underscored the strategic importance of "the far-off corner" that is Southeast Asia. Should Indo-China fall, the peninsula would be "scarcely defensible." India would then be outflanked and Burma imperiled. And if the free world lost all that, how long would it hold the "rich empire of Indonesia"? Against this background, the President pointed out, the $400,000,000 appropriated to aid France's war in Indo-China could not be regarded as a "give-away program." It strikes us, however, as being precisely that.

Various reports from Southeast Asia in the past two weeks indicate that the real danger there is economic, not military. A sharp decline in the prices of raw materials—rubber, tin, cocoanut products, timber, kapok, and even of rice—has brought a curtailment of imports and deferment of strategic development projects. Rightly or wrongly, we are being blamed for the price slump. Thus the Secretary of the Malayan Trades Union Council asks if we are trying to reduce Malaya to the status of an American satellite. "Malaya," he points out, "is fighting a Communist war; so why does America grudge paying us a fair price for tin and rubber?" With trouble brewing, Japanese industrialists are busily promoting new joint enterprises with native interests as a means of regaining their former position in Southeast Asian markets.

This new crisis in the Pacific was not caused by the Korean war; the war delayed it by pushing up the price of raw materials to a new high in 1951. Only since the end of the war has Washington been forced to face the bad news that has been accumulating there for the last two years. Military aid will not resolve this crisis. Even a victory in Indo-China would not resolve it. Yet if the crisis deepens it can have a profound effect on the post-armistice political conference scheduled for October.

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Splitting the Protestant Ranks

In summoning the Reverend Jack McMichael soon after the Oxnam hearing the House Committee on Un-American Activities is attempting to split the Protestant ranks. By harassing such men as McMichael and Dr. Harry F. Ward the committee seeks to force the more conservative Protestant leaders to abandon them, that is, to regard them as "expendable."

Protestant leadership should stand firm on the proposition that Congressional committees are miles off base in investigating the clergy. If they hold fast to this, they may soon be surprised to find Messrs. Velde and Jackson in the mourners' row, confessing their sins and seeking forgiveness. The argument will be made, of course, that the McMichaels and Wards cannot be defended without prejudicing larger Protestant interests, but once the left flank of the Protestant salient is turned, the entire line will be endangered. For Velde and his merry men are not interested in the Reverend Jack McMichael of Upper Lake, California. They are hunting bigger game, as Thomas L. Stokes pointed out in a recent column. "Representative Velde and Representative Jackson," said Mr. Stokes, "are obviously inching up gradually to an investigation of Protestant churches represented in the National Council of Churches of Christ, a majority of the Protestant churches." And he added that it might be a good idea if the Protestants were to make an investigation of their own to find out "who and what is behind this political attack on them so they may bring the plot out into the open if the committee persists." The suggestion is well advised.

Did You Miss These Items?

Not so long ago Jimmie Tarantino, a prize-fight columnist turned radio gossip, told his KYA listeners in San Francisco that Fern Bruner, a San Lorenzo school teacher, was a "reported Communist or Communist sympathizer." As might be expected, the slander was traced back to a poison-pen letter or tip from a busybody housewife who had been told that United World Federalists, in which Miss Bruner had been active, was part of the Kremlin's propaganda network. Such delusions, of course, are not uncommon in California, where only the other day the Un-American Activities Committee announced that it intended to investigate UNESCO. But last week a jury awarded Miss Bruner $55,000 damages —$25,000 against Tarantino, $25,000 against Station KYA, and $5,000 against the station manager. We agree with Miss Bruner that the victory is not hers alone "but for the whole teaching profession."

From Ohio, too, comes a word of cheer. Governor Frank Lausche has vetoed a bill outlawing subversive activities which had passed the House by the overwhelming vote of 119 to 2 and the Senate by 21 to 11. Said the Governor: "In the zeal to apprehend culprits let us not leave a wake of ruined lives and reputations of innocent Americans."

The Supreme Court and Governor Warren

Senator William Knowland is said to have demanded, as his price for accepting the idea of a truce in Korea, the Senate leadership, complete control of California patronage to the exclusion of Vice-President Nixon, and the appointment of Governor Warren to the first Supreme Court vacancy, then expected to occur "some time in October" (*The Nation,* June 20, 1953, p. 516). More recently, a curious war of nerves has been launched to induce Justice Felix Frankfurter to retire. It has taken the form of inspired stories that his letter of resignation is on the President's desk, pointed inquiries about his health, a drumbeat insistence in the gossip columns that he is about to retire, and more recently direct questions from California political writers about when he intends to retire.

Governor Warren would quickly relieve his own, and by this time nearly everyone else's embarrassment, if he would publicly repudiate this unseemly campaign. For our part, having recently reread Justice Frankfurter's memorable dissent in *Sacher* vs. *United States,* we wish him good health, long life, and many more years of distinguished service on the court.

Can the U. N. Get Us Off the Hook?

THE public business of the U. N. General Assembly opening in New York next Monday may divert notice from the session's more subtle meaning. The obvious functions of this Assembly are, first, to adopt a resolution expressing gratification at the conclusion of the Korean truce, and, second, to recommend what shall be the composition, date, and place of the post-armistice political conference and to discuss its scope. An especially interesting matter to be determined is which countries shall participate in the conference.

As we see it, however, the Assembly's more important function may be to expose United States policy to the influence of some of its critics in the U. N. Since the Eisenhower Administration took office last January, its position in world affairs has been shaped primarily by the Colonel Blimps who dominate Congress. On Far Eastern questions pressures from Syngman Rhee and Chiang Kai-shek reinforce this diehard Tory majority. It was the attitude of these combined forces that prompted the London *New Statesman and Nation* to write of "the complete reversal of roles between East and West" since

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Stalin's death. As the Russians have been showing increasing flexibility, the United States has grown more and more rigid. In the words of the *New Statesman,* it is we who have become the "Nietmen," shouting "Not on your life!" at any suggestion of revising our obsolescent policies.

We refuse to countenance any easing of the trade embargo against China even after the Korean truce. We cling to our grotesque recognition of the exiles on Formosa as the government of China and as China's representatives in the U. N. We are bitter-enders on the war in Indo-China, regardless of the yearning of the people of France, of the Associated States, and of Vietminh to end the killing and prevent economic ruin. Our intransigence in the Far East is paralleled in Europe by our refusal to acknowledge that the European Defense Community, pivot of our policy, is moribund. Such rigidity cripples our leadership in international affairs.

The U. N. Assembly may produce a healthy reminder that the United States is as little able to go it alone politically as militarily. Restiveness among the Soviet satellites is being matched, in different form, by greater self-assertion among America's partners. We are witnessing the beginning of the end of meek compliance with the will of the United States by Britain, France, and lesser non-Communist countries. In both the Soviet and American camps centrifugal tendencies are replacing centripetal ones.

IN ADVANCE OF the Assembly's discussion of the coming conference on Korea, the British and French ambassadors, in talks with Secretary Dulles, have lodged their dissent from United States plans. Sir Roger Makins has stated that the British refuse to be committed by the Dulles-Rhee agreement to walk out of the conference after ninety days if it fails to make satisfactory headway by then or if the Chinese and North Korean Communists appear to be shamming. The British and others think this sounds altogether too much like an ultimatum, a threat to break off talks unless the Communists, having fought the war to a stalemate, are ready to surrender at the conference table. In serving notice that Britain would not necessarily be bound by arrangements between the United States and the Republic of Korea, Britain's ambassador was warning against continued American appeasement of Syngman Rhee.

Washington and London have also been differing on whether India should be invited to the conference. The State Department's tentative list of participants includes the Philippines and Thailand but puts a question mark after India. Nehru has refrained from requesting a seat, although it was the Indian compromise proposal on war prisoners which led to the Korean armistice. We have been going to great lengths to jump through Syngman Rhee's hoop, but there are limits beyond which we will not go. It would far exceed reasonable limits were the United States to propose or acquiesce in India's exclusion from the post-truce conference.

Furthermore, Rhee has been trying to embroil the United States in new hostilities by a device which the Eisenhower Administration has not yet imparted to the American people. He has inserted in the proposed United States–South Korea security pact a provision which would assure our recognition of the South Korean government's authority over all Korean territory up to the Yalu River. Acceptance of this clause would commit United States armed forces to drive the Chinese Communist armies from Korea. In his letter to Rhee of June 6 President Eisenhower made it clear that the United States recognizes the Korean Republic's writ as running only in territory now under its administrative control or hereafter *peacefully* brought under it. It follows that we are bound to reject the fancy recognition joker Rhee has smuggled into his treaty draft.

FRANCE is also dissatisfied with American plans for the conference. In one of their secret talks last month Foreign Minister Bidault pressed Dulles to put Indo-China on the agenda. Ambassador Bonnet recently renewed Bidault's suggestion. But after wavering for several months Dulles has finally chosen to confine the conference to Korean problems. To include Indo-China, he argues, would enlarge both the number of participants and the agenda; unwieldiness is to be avoided, he says. Dulles reminded the French of their bitter opposition last winter to a U. N. debate on the Indo-Chinese conflict and remarked, a little facetiously, on French inconsistency in now demanding discussion of Indo-China at a conference which after all is another U. N. forum.

France has answered by saying it may call a parallel conference and open direct negotiations with Ho Chi-minh and Communist China for a settlement of the Indo-Chinese war. Today this may be a bluff by Bidault. But it could happen that a new French government—such a one as was almost formed by Mendès-France last June—would at last yield to exasperation and despair at home and try to wind up the slaughter in Indo-China.

The British, French, and other interested U. N. governments now seem likely to accept the temporizing American formula. This contemplates a second Far Eastern conference on broader issues and with a bigger list of participants—if the post-armistice deliberations on Korea go smoothly. In the meantime the United States appears determined to stifle even the small chance of accommodation at the impending conference. Dulles has proclaimed that we will never buy Korea's unification by agreeing to Communist China's entry into the U. N. He has indicated that if necessary we will repudiate our previous position and veto the admission of Peking. He ignores

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the view of Britain and other U. N. countries that the question is not subject to a veto because it concerns a change of one country's representation rather than the seating of a new member state.

FINALLY, Dulles has included in his draft treaty with Rhee an article enabling the United States to keep its armed forces in Korea for an indefinite period. Dulles says this would be a right, not an obligation. However, the first item on the fixed agenda for the post-armistice conference is the withdrawal of foreign troops from Korea. By signing a pact entitling America to retain a garrison in South Korea, we are hardly inducing the Chinese Communists to evacuate North Korea.

On the eve of the General Assembly the best that can be hoped is that Dulles is bluffing. After all, in the long armistice negotiations both sides inched away from their earlier incompatible positions and managed to reach agreement. What is disquieting is to note the strait-jacket into which Congress has thrust the Administration's foreign policy. Choice of William Knowland, champion of a vanished Asian past, as majority leader of the Senate can only intensify anxiety on this score. There has been at least one memorable occasion, however, when the influence of the United Nations outweighed that of Congress. That was last November when the American delegation, reduced to a minority of one in the Assembly, dropped its hostility to India's prisoner-of-war resolution and belatedly joined its supporters. This was a rare performance. That it was possible at all encourages us to hope the climate of the impending U. N. session may also thaw some of our frozen attitudes.

LATIN AMERICA

Shall We Lose It? . . *by Waldo Frank*

THE chemist, to measure the interplay of forces in a protein molecule, employs symbols. His understanding may not go far, but at least—since his *x, y, z,* refer to the specific matter—it will not go wrong. When the contemporary American discusses Asia or Latin America he uses vast words—communism, democracy, dictatorship, civilization—that reflect his own subjective status and lead him *away* from the event in question. From false view comes false judgment—and wrong action. Thus we accept a "mandate for democracy" in Korea, and find ourselves fighting half a billion Asians; self-righteously oppose their government as a "satellite of Moscow," and find ourselves bound to a discredited exile on an island. Thus, also, we send equipment to Latin American armies for "hemisphere defense," and the arms are turned by despisers of democracy against their people, teaching them to hate us.

Our relations with the southern two-thirds of our hemisphere are not so bad as with Asia, but muddle is doing its best to bring about the worst. It is not impossible that the future historian may write, "The failure of the United States as a world leader within fifty years of its rise, the beginning of its economic and cultural decline, and its political isolation were the result of ignorance—ignorance propagated by well-intentioned leaders, exploited by demagogues, stratified in the people by the most efficient news service on record." To speak of all Latin America in one article would be rash, even if the nations, races, climates, covered by that vague name were less complex, less chaotic. There are, however, a few keys to understanding.

Recently General Carlos Ibañez was elected President of Chile by a 70 per cent vote. He had been President in the twenties, had frightened the people by his dictatorial trends, and for years had lived in exile. Perón of Argentina went to see him, and they agreed on a plan of union for the two states. The Chileans got wind of this and demonstrated in the streets against it. It would have been a step toward that larger federation which Latin American leaders, since before Bolívar, have dreamed of. Why did the Chileans oppose it? Because they distrusted a union engineered by "strong men." Why did they elect Ibañez by a clear majority? Because the constitutional governments in Chile had done too little to solve its social and international problems, and Ibañez, with Communist support, promised to partition the great estates and control the industries. But why did the nation's political democracy during the past decades not extend into the field of economics? Partly because the culture of Spain and the church, ingrained in the folk, resists empirical values of well-being. Many a Chilean worker prefers a meditative day off with a gallon of wine to earning extra pay for a pair of shoes; fears neither poverty, his immemorial companion, nor the death of his malnourished child—who thereby takes a short cut through this vale of tears to heaven.

So the fault is with the church? But there is a Catholic party in Chile that practices a united front for social action with both Socialists and Communists. And the Chilean worker, whose forefathers joined the army of San Martín, after Chile was free, to clear the Spaniards from Peru, today gazes with sympathy across the Pacific upon the

WALDO FRANK, novelist and cultural critic, is among the best-known American writers in Latin America. His latest books are "Birth of a World," a biography of Bolívar, and the recently published novel "Not Heaven."

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revolution of his Chinese brothers. The situation, you see, of this one small country is complex, and this is the only safe generalization one can make about it.

ACROSS THE ANDES (during the centuries which formed the traits of Argentina and Chile the voyage took months; now a plane takes twenty minutes), a few weeks ago, the Peronist "mob" in Buenos Aires went on a rampage and burned two buildings—the palatial Jockey Club and the Casa del Pueblo, which housed the best labor library in town and the plant of the suppressed Socialist *Vanguardia*. The bulletin of the American I. A. D. F. calls the Jockey Club "cultural center." Well, its members, the opulent landowners and their parasites, speak French, follow the styles of Paris, and pay huge honoraria to visiting lecturers. But they rejoiced when, twenty years ago, the army unseated President Hipólito Irigoyen, who was beginning to break up their estates into immigrant farms, and Perón resulted from that counter-revolution by strict logic. They are hostile to Perón, not because he is corrupt, not even because he is incompetent, but because of his expropriative taxes. Why did the mob burn the People's House? The history of Tammany Hall gives part of the answer. If New York in 1870 had occupied such a dominant place in the nation as Buenos Aires does, if the New York police had controlled the United States army, might not Tweed and Oakley for a time have run the country?

Perón, like many demagogues, has brought immediate, superficial benefits to labor: for instance, he has relieved the subhuman misery of the sugar workers and despite inflation has increased the real wages of the lowest class. His wife, Evita, with her rhetorical largess to unfortunate mothers and children, undoubtedly won the naive love of the urban proletariat. Thereupon the liberal and radical press began calling her a whore—which increased her popularity and the people's anger. Irigoyen, a profound man, failed because he was too poor an administrator and too old to steer his liberal ship into port against the choppy winds of vested interest at home and abroad. In his day Buenos Aires was becoming a socialist city—in a nation still psychologically feudal. Such complexities delayed success. Perón applied simplicities, putting on a loud show of syndicalism, expropriation of wealth, national hatred of the "Colossus of the North." It will not work, of course. And the people are learning. But meanwhile he has the army. And it is not real democracy he will have to show in order to get support for it from our State Department.

Even the word "army" misleads. In a majority of the republics it has meant oppression clamped upon social chaos. But the Brazilian army opposed slavery, worked for forty years with the intellectuals for its gradual, bloodless abolition, and in 1889 peacefully eased the empire into a republic. Mexico's army, under great leaders like Juárez and Cárdenas, has stood for constitutionalism. The church blessed the recent bloody regime of Laureano Gómez in Colombia; the army threw him out.

Colombia, we are told, has been a democratic nation with two long-established, legally competing parties, Liberal and Conservative—and with a culture so high that the most exquisite poets are the national best-sellers. In 1946 a left-wing Liberal leader, Eliazir Gaitán, split his party, and after nearly two decades of Liberal rule the Conservatives came back to power. In 1948 the Pan-American Conference met just outside Bogotá under our State Department, which barred labor representatives in general and Gaitán in particular. He was shot to death in a central street, and with spontaneous fury the citizens burned the heart of their city, including many gracious monuments, among them the colonial palace of San Carlos where Bolívar once ruled and planned a united hemisphere for free men. For five years the Conservatives have held power by wholesale slaughter of Liberal opponents. This surely looks like "deterioration" of democratic rule? But in fact Colombia's republic has resembled the republics of ancient Greece, based upon helots. The prosperous classes have been a sort of club, Liberal-Conservative, rigging the elections, dividing the spoils—and producing poetry virtuosic as Valéry's—while under them toiled a voiceless people: peasants, miners, coffee-pickers, mingled Indian, African, and Hispanic. Gaitán broke the club rules by seriously speaking to the people. His death, the rage of the rioters in every Colombian town, the thousands of political murders mark a birth, tragic but organic, in the social consciousness of the country.

MEXICO, Guatemala, Cuba, Peru, Brazil, Bolivia—each of the twenty republics is in some phase of a profound demotic movement. But the phase is always unique: because of the country's combination of Spanish or Portuguese with Indian or African, or both, or neither; because of the cultural traits of its population before the Conquest, high in Mexico and the Andes, savage in Argentina, Venezuela, the Caribbean; because of the presence or lack of late European immigration; because of the pressures of the United States, due to proximity or to the republics' products and their relation to war and cold war; and finally because of *timing*. Thus Mexico in 1910, despite pressures from the North, could launch a full-fledged cultural revolution; it bogged down and is impeded in its economic aspects, yet it created a permanent base—as has Uruguay under totally different conditions. (Perón and our new high tariffs now place Uruguay in peril.) But Guatemala, moving only today, meets an organized "anti-Communist" campaign that isolates and stifles it. And Bolivia, stirring at long last from its abyss of exploitation, is forced to expend so much of its realized resources to "compensate" the owners of nationalized mines, who have wrung billions from the blood of the poor, that its freedom to develop agriculture, to diversify industry, to heal the morale of a conquered and sick people is tragically hampered.

We must first of all consider the effect on these disparate countries of trying to begin their political life under replicas of our Constitution—the result of their once romantic adoration of the United States. No premise of race,

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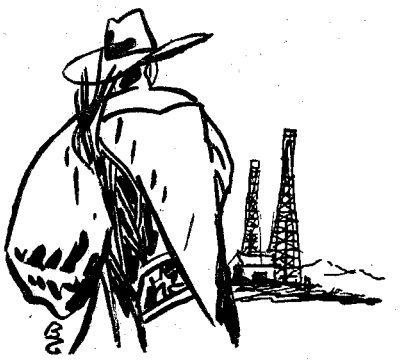
geography, economy, culture, the ingredients of our law, was present in America Hispana. Leaders like San Martín and Bolívar knew this; but no country acted upon it except Brazil, whose Portuguese base guaranteed shrewdness in politics and commerce. The genius of Spain has not been political since Philip II; and it will take more than genius, it will take generations, to fuse the chaos of Spain's colonies into a social order. By paradox this handicap stems from spiritual strength. Not since Rome has there been an imperialism so creative as Spain's. Rome enslaved, but its law structured new peoples from Byzantium to Britain. The conquistadores cruelly and lustfully exploited, but they kept the Indian and the African *culturally alive.*

The Hispanic spirit was stated in Spain's principle of international law, a century before Grotius; in the New Laws of the Indies (1542), the most humane labor legislation in the world before the nineteenth century. But it was enacted in the common life of man and woman. By 1810 there were no longer Spaniards, Portuguese, Indians, or Negroes in America Hispana; all these warring ethnic traits had been transfigured into the chaotic, unself-conscious beginnings of *new peoples.* Anglo-Saxon modern institutions, and Hispanic medieval ones, fitted this world as the starched gear of a London garden party would fit an Amazonian explorer. The nineteenth century hardly sufficed to learn that lesson.

WHILE Pax Britannica ruled the waves and the Monroe Doctrine—with a few accidents like Mexico's invasion by Napoleon III—sealed the frontiers, Latin America stewed in its own juices. Its progress, even political, was great. With the new century came external complications. American Big Business barged in, and the Big Stick, symbolized by Theodore Roosevelt's cynical rape of Panama. Both found corrupt domestic elements to work with. But slowly the republics stiffened; the Big Stick, Big Business days seemed gone. Then the World War ran into a Second, and froze into the cold war of today. Latin America's export-import markets had been fairly diversified, which meant freedom from undue pressure by any single nation. Now the United States loomed into first place, creating a magnetic field that has distorted the normal groping growth of Latin American institutions.

The premise of social democracy is a balance of economic groups, an axiom Marx ignored. With the twentieth century the Latin American possessing classes—the church is the largest owner



of land—had grown degenerate, but the new producing classes are still too immature, in culture more than in skills, to balance and replace them. This explains the predominance of the army and of that normally anti-democratic class, the bureaucrats. These two uncreative groups of power stand ready everywhere to do business with the selfish and short-sighted power of the United States—for their own ends. A new, disguised form of Dollar Diplomacy and the Big Stick once again threatens America Hispana.

The intellectuals share the immaturity of the other productive groups, although like them they are building strong foundations. The universities are in close touch with labor and politics, whence their frequent purges and suppressions; the poets, perhaps the best in the world today, are not alien from the peasants. The case of Rómulo Gallegos in Venezuela is archetypical. This outstanding novelist and teacher, with the help of intellectuals and the best officers of the army, won the confidence of the people, who elected him President. The slow, organic process of structuring the productive classes began, but before they could assert themselves, the army, feeling its vested power threatened, threw Gallegos out. Analogous was the rise and fall of the Peruvian, Haya de la Torre, who was the heir of a great cultural movement of the twenties and whose aim was to integrate the urban, industrial, and rural classes of the country. Yet the presence of such men and such values has become a Latin American tradition, suffused among the people. Political immaturity and titanic problems of communication bring temporary defeats, but the tradition is bound to gain against *caudillismo*—if the struggle is not tilted in favor of the generals by outside interference.

Another advantage of the Latin American intelligentsia lies in their many capitals. In the United States, with its two centers for a continent, one must shout to be heard. But one can whisper in Quito, Montevideo, São Paulo, Havana, and the word reverberates. And true words carry with soft voices better than with shouting.

THE HISPANIC roots encourage the culture of *persons.* The Latin American is not specialized, and this gives him breadth and depth. But also it delays his competence in political method; for human engineering is less easily mastered than the comparatively simple technics of physics. Therefore the nations are vulnerable to the simplicities of soldiers and of demagogues. The intellectuals are no longer tempted to imitate our Constitution. But sensibility, even catholicity, without rigorous control, makes for self-indulgence, a prevailing Latin American vice; and this in turn encourages romantic despair and romantic solutions.

Thus we find major poets like Pablo Neruda and Nicolás Guillén, leading novelists like Jorge Amado and the brilliant Ecuadorian school, essayists of acumen like Juan Marinello and Maria Rosa Oliver, artists of the caliber of Siqueiros and Diego Rivera, following with desperate hope the Communist line, because they are convinced that regimentation by the United States and its parasites, military and political, is more of a menace to their world than Russian armies. They are undoubtedly right; which does not refute the shallowness of their thinking. The worship of the machine by both American civilization and the Communist Party—those *frères ennemis*—is alien to the Hispanic ethos with its deep culture of the person. Far too many good men south of the Rio Grande see the threat of the United States in close-up, that of communism at long range. One can sympathize with their lack of focus; *but they can't afford*

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it. A new radicalism, both practical and creative, is needed for Latin American survival.

This is of course *their* problem; we cannot do the work for them. But since their success or failure involves ours, our problem is to let them do it.

THE BENEFITS of F. D. R.'s "good neighbor" policy have been exaggerated. The level of our diplomats was greatly improved—we began to send down men who did not lump Mexicans and Brazilians as "the natives." Technical assistance in industry and health nourished the stabilities of the producing classes. Trade under reciprocal treaties was encouraged. But Roosevelt was in no position to change our basic and complacent ignorance of Latin America. Had he been able to persuade our public schools to introduce a compulsory course in comparative American cultures, naturally including the pre-Columbian, and to teach Spanish or Portuguese as the second American language, his good-will might have laid foundations that would be beyond harm by the Ignorance (capitalized) of Eisenhower and his salesmen.

Certain measures we should immediately take. We should send no arms, no military missions, to the republics. The chance of their falling into the hands of men hostile to their people and ours is far too great; the loss of freedoms, implicit in such transactions, is too certain. We no longer ship marines to collect debts, but a military bargain with a Trujillo or a Gómez is a subtler form of invasion, a surer way of turning neighbors into haters and—by the simple psychology of peoples—into romantic admirers of our enemies.

We should not, of course, restrict business with nationalized industry, as we did for several years when Cárdenas took over the Mexican oil fields. *Neither should we buy more than we need.* A crisis in Bolivia, for instance, because we buy less tin, or in Chile because we buy less copper, or in Mexico because we buy less silver simply proves that the economy of these nations is unsound. Hand-outs will not make it better. But there should be no protective tariffs in our hemisphere. Because of them Germany already is regaining its lost markets, while meat in the United States remains outrageously and unnecessarily expensive. Recent discriminations by the Export-Import Bank against Latin America are dollar diplomacy in reverse, certain to split the hemisphere and weaken the dollar.

Ignorance: this is our basic problem. It comes from profound spiritual and intellectual shortcomings in our culture; and against these, alas, there is no cure but the rugged one of more self-knowledge. The American hemisphere, in human and natural resources, is the *minority hemisphere.* As the new Hispanic world rises through its vicissitudes to selfhood, the United States could find itself a minority nation in the minority hemisphere. It could be that having squandered our vast initial stock of Latin American good-will, we might destroy the hemisphere itself as an economic-cultural organism. For there are many ties, strong and growing, to draw Indo-Hispano-Afro-America toward Asia, Africa, and Europe. American ignorance means isolation.

SAVE-OUR-SCHOOLS, INC.

Strange Case of Mr. Flynn . . . *by T. P. Yeatman, Jr.*

RADIO philosopher John T. Flynn is greatly worried—and is worrying many other people—about subversion in our public schools. In November, 1952, Mr. Flynn devoted five radio talks over a nation-wide hook-up to exposing "how a number of influential educators, teamed up with socialist propagandists and politicians, have been trying for twenty years to shape the minds of children in support of socialist theories." Printed as a pamphlet entitled "They War on Our Schools," these talks have provided the main ideological ammunition for crackpot attacks on the public schools from coast to coast. Who Owns Your Child's Mind? an article on the same theme which appeared in the October, 1951, issue of the *Reader's Digest,* has been distributed with a lavish hand—by unidentified donors. According to Mr. Flynn, "reds," "pinks," and philosophers of the "welfare state"—a category which presumably includes such highly respected educators as Harold Rugg, William Kilpatrick, and Willard Goslin—have for years been working, in a sinister manner, to make socialists out of even the tiniest tots in school. More recently, on February 24, 1953, Mr. Flynn thrilled the assembled membership of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association with a vivid account of the twenty-year-old socialist conspiracy to infiltrate the public schools, his speech being titled America's Unknown War: The War We Have Not Begun to Fight.

But why is Mr. Flynn usually so careful to fix the inception of this conspiracy as "twenty years" ago? And what was he saying about education then? Were the "enemies" of education the same then as they are today? Or has the plot changed?

Flynn contributed a column headed Other People's Money to the *New Republic* from May 10, 1933, through November 4, 1940. There were 389 of these columns, and many of them were critical of business philosophy, or business practices, or just plain business. Together with Flynn's 1931 book, "Graft in Business," they were used as supplemental reading in some college and university courses. Is it not pos-

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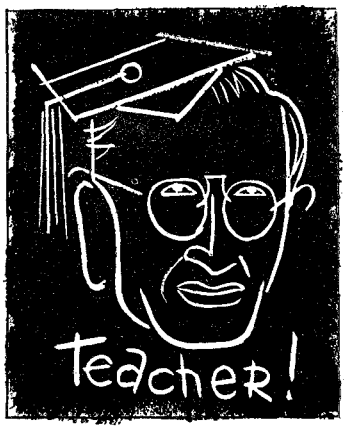
sible that *by his present standards* some of those columns and "Graft in Business" might be subject to question? Those of us who call ourselves liberals do not regard Mr. Flynn's writings in 1930-40 as in any way subversive. But we are disturbed by his criticism of the writings of others during a period when he himself was possibly more militantly liberal than they.

IN SHORT, is Mr. Flynn at present a sincere conservative, or is he a Johnny-come-lately opportunist? In going over the material in the *New Republic,* I found some significant statements in his September 9, 1936, column, which was called To Get Rich Scare the Rich:

> The art of getting rich consists largely in capitalizing the emotions, weaknesses, follies, fears of the rest of us. . . . An English philosopher has widely observed that there are certain men who understand the technique of getting money. They are the rich. There are, however, others who would like to have money but do not understand the methods by which this is done. For them the only hope for riches is to fasten themselves upon the rich. They become the publicity men, shirt-stuffers, apologists, sycophants, jesters, and so on. At the present moment the best system for men and women who want to be writers but also want to be rich is to trade upon the fears of the rich.
>
> The world is full of alarums. The Red menace sparkles on every side. Raids upon his money bags are threatened from every quarter. This is the natural atmosphere for the rich man's terrors. Therefore the first thing to do is to play upon those terrors. Scare him some more. Then invent some racket for protecting him from those perils.
>
> One good field—which is the occasion of this outburst to the acquisitive writer—is the schools. There the Bolsheviki are ceaseless. They are stealing the souls of our children and poisoning the minds of our teachers. They are being taught the wickedness of wealth and undermining the constitutional props. Therefore what better racket than to save the schools from this monster. Therefore organize an agency like, for instance, the National Republican Lettergram Service of Washington, D. C. Send out letters, bulletins, circulars, and pamphlets keeping loyal teachers advised of the march of the Reds upon the schools. Then you can call on patriotic rich men to subscribe $100, $150, or maybe $1,000 to carry on this great work.

Mr. Flynn's current crusade has unquestionably caused a good deal of excitement among business people. Here



is part of a telegram sent out in 1953 by a group of business men in a Southern city to other business men in the area.

> Major force retarding socialism and upholding constitutional liberty has been John T. Flynn in *Reader's Digest,* other magazines, and books like "The Road Ahead" reaching millions. Right now Flynn effectively reaching his largest and most responsive audience of millions of families through America's Future 1,200 daily and weekly quarter-hour programs on more than 300 radio stations. Response very much greater than from books or magazine articles. Need is urgent to continue and increase Flynn coverage quickly making this nation-wide influence to help the new Administration uproot decades socialist welfare state, infiltration in schools, and other institutions influencing public thinking.
>
> Will you join with us in helping America's Future take advantage this great opportunity by giving now your support to this highly important non-partisan educational effort?
>
> Please mail check payable America's Future, Inc. (tax deductible) to [name and address deleted].

In addition to the telegram two letters were circulated. One dated February 26, 1953, announced a gift of $5,000. The other, dated March 4, 1953, told of Mr. Flynn's "impressive talk" at the meeting of the Pennsylvania Manufacturers' Association. It said in part: "Much work remains to be done to help the Administration and the new Congress to root out twenty years of socialist infiltration, and Mr. Flynn points the way as to how this can be done most effectively."

Yes, business men seem to be stirring to Mr. Flynn's call to save the nation from the alleged socialist machinations of the past twenty years. Remembering his earlier writings, some people wonder if he is trying now to put out fires he helped kindle. Or doesn't he remember what he wrote about the Institute of Public Affairs at the University of Virginia in his *New Republic* column of July 29, 1936? Mr. Flynn was disturbed by pernicious influences on the schools at that time too, but the ogre was the New York Stock Exchange, not "pinks," "reds," or advocates of the "welfare state."

> The University of Virginia has been making headlines with what it is pleased to call its Institute of Public Affairs. One of the most important subjects discussed was Business and Finance. . . .The selection of the speakers was intrusted to the New York Stock Exchange, and the invitation to the speakers actually went out from this great institution of learning on Broad and Wall streets. The able and impartial gentlemen selected by the Stock Exchange to present "a variety of points of view" were about as you would expect. Thomas Jefferson, who had done so many things, chose to have carved upon his tombstone as the two achievements worthy to be mentioned at his grave, that he was the author of the Declaration of Independence and founder of the University of Virginia. Is it too much to believe that the great founder must have vibrated vigorously in his coffin as he beheld from the other shore the great institution he had built crawling with "scholars" and "students" from Wall Street. Indeed, one may ask what the people of Virginia may think of this performance—their proud university turned into a sounding board for the audacious Casino at Broad and Wall. . . .

MR. FLYNN has always worried about teachers, but his reasons now are somewhat different from what they were in the past. Take, for example, his column in the *New Republic* on September 7, 1938, a date well within the past two decades so often named by him as the period of socialist infiltration.

> In the neighborhood paper which comes to my home I have noticed for some time a feature called "You and Your Affairs." This feature is a five-hundred-word editorial discussion of public, chiefly economic, affairs by some college professors. . . . There is nothing to indicate that this is not an editorial feature in good faith, a free discussion of public affairs by authorities speaking out in the freedom of true scholarship. But the amazingly reactionary character of all these releases, together with the general appearance of the feature, produced a suspicion in my eye, long practiced in the ways of newspaper make-up. I called the city editor of the paper and asked him what syndicate this feature came from, and after looking it up, he told me it was supplied by the Manufacturers' Association. The Manufacturers' Association, of course, I do not

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feel too angry about. It is made up of practical men who are out for the dough. One does not look for high standards of ethics in these people. . . . But what shall we say of the professors who collaborate in the swindle? After all, they are supposed to have deliberately chosen the path of learning rather than profits, to be scholars rather than acquisitive money hunters. They are supposed to have higher standards of conduct. Were they being paid for these fraudulently presented articles? And if so, what kind of money is this to find in a professor's pocket?

This strikes me as an excellent case for the American Association of University Professors to investigate. It would be unjust to charge that they were paid without proof. But there is plenty of this money floating around. A week scarcely passes that I do not get an offer to do a little writing for some industrial or commercial enterprise or organization and, I suspect, at rates sufficient to buy quite a batch of professors.

On November 22, 1939, or somewhat less than fourteen years ago, Mr. Flynn contributed an item to the *New Republic* entitled Professors on the Pay Roll. A writer in *Business Week* had suggested that business men should take more interest in college teaching in order to further the teaching of the American way of life. Mr. Flynn commented sarcastically: "It is a noble and inspiring proposal. Only it leaves you a little in the dark as to what the American way is. All that is clear is that it is located somewhat near the cash drawer."

And again on November 4, 1940, he wrote:

Here is a precious item of news from that great Metropolis of Light and Learning—Chicago. . . . Superintendent Johnson has set the teachers and principals of the schools to work censoring books that the kiddies will be exposed to. He has started sort of a textbook spy hunt. Even such old standbys as "Robinson Crusoe" and "Swiss Family Robinson" and "Grimm's Fairy Tales" are being searched for evidence of work by long deceased fifth-columnists. Even the arithmetic is not overlooked, to be certain that no subversive philosophy lurks in the "examples." Magazines like *Child's Life* and *American Boy* are being combed for evidence of the hated enemy of the "American way."

HERE IS another matter for contemplation. If, as some believe, Mr. Flynn is the modern Moses to lead our schools and our nation out of the wilderness of an alleged socialism, why did he vote for the Socialist Party Presidential candidate in 1936? That was seventeen years ago, well within the twenty-year period. In the November 4, 1936, issue of the *New Republic* he wrote:

The great choice which confronts the people of every country today is—who is to control their economic societies? By control I mean conscious, deliberate, planned control. In the past, societies have worked more or less in the interest of the business groups. But they have not worked so well. Now all sections and almost all schools, save a few moss-covered ancients, are convinced that a deliberate and conscious regulation of economic society must be undertaken. But the unsettled question is—who will get possession of the instruments of control?

In Europe the choice assumes the form of a death struggle between fascist and communist or socialist. In America the struggle is as yet a little obscure. But essentially the war is the same. Will the control be in the interest of society and its toiling masses? Or will it be in the interest of profits and investments? Will it be in the interest of the production of wealth for the nation, or will it be in the interest of "prices" and "values"?

In this country there has been a powerful movement by business to deliver control of our economic life into the hands of organized business. They call this movement "self-rule" in business. It is, I sincerely believe, the most sinister movement in our midst. . . .

Mr. Roosevelt has not been necessarily for the surrender of this economic government into the hands of big business. He is for turning it over to business—little as well as big. But I am opposed to surrendering into the hands of little business, into the hands of profit-hunting groups, big or little, the power to make and enforce the laws affecting the economic areas dominated by innumerable trade associations. . . .

How, then, may a man vote? To vote for Thomas, I am told, is to waste one's vote. I do not think so. It is, I feel, the only way to vote and not to waste one's vote. I am not a Socialist. But I shall vote for Norman Thomas. I believe that the best use to make of the ballot next Tuesday is to cast it so as to confront whoever is elected—Roosevelt or Landon—with a large vote for Norman Thomas. That will be a good thing for the soul of either of these gentlemen.

The Mr. Flynn who is today so violently attacking the socialism that he charges has been infiltrating into our schools and the nation for the past twenty years seems to have had a good deal of sympathy for it in 1936. The whole column in which he announced his vote for Norman Thomas certainly sounds "pinkish" by his present standards. Consider, too, his statement of June 2, 1937, in the *New Republic*: "Turn what way you will, you can see no light for the hard and soft coal mines but government ownership."

On the question of subversive activities, surely Mr. Flynn has not forgotten his attack on J. Edgar Hoover and the F. B. I. in the *New Republic* of March 11, 1940, a mere thirteen years ago:

But increasingly the Bureau [F. B. I.] has been concerning itself with opinions. It has introduced into its functions the investigation of what it calls subversive activities. Now what are subversive activities? Communism is subversive, let us say. But what is communism? Who is a communist? Who is to define a man's political views and activities and determine whether he is subversive or not?

Many of us are firmly convinced that American teachers as a whole are strongly opposed to real anti-United States subversive activities, and so we vigorously object to Mr. Flynn's current scare tactics. When we hear him speaking almost hysterically over the radio, we recall his advice to acquisitive writers quoted above. Three sentences from that column stand out: "Scare him some more. Then invent some racket for protecting him from those perils. . . . Then you call on patriotic rich men to subscribe $100, $150, or maybe $1,000 to carry on this great work." Has Mr. Flynn become an acquisitive writer?

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J. Alvarez del Vayo

Germany's "Military Dynamic"

Paris

WITH the French Parliament in summer recess, the European army is also taking a long vacation. No matter how reassuring occasional official statements may sound, nobody here expects ratification before the year's end—if then. But if the European army is in eclipse, the partisans—German and American—of a German national army are on the job. They argue that too much time has elapsed since May 9 of last year when the six Western governments agreed to create a European army. They see a growing interest in Big Four talks, a lessened one in European Defense Community schemes. The armistice in Korea has accelerated both tendencies to a degree few people on the other side of the Atlantic seem to realize.

These developments have stimulated talk of a possible alternative to E. D. C. —a military regroupment in which the United States, West Germany, and Franco Spain would be the key factors. Informed official French sources were aware that the recent trip of Herr Blank, future German Minister of Defense, to Washington had implications which were never publicly reported. Accompanied by General Heusinger and other German military experts, he came back extremely confident and encouraged. According to those French sources, he carried in his dispatch case a precise plan for rapidly transforming the projected German army—if E. D. C. should fail—into a national army.

The preparations are in fact so well advanced that Chancellor Adenauer can threaten the French with this alternative if they continue to stall ratification of the European army. He did so indirectly at his press conference on July 31 when he said: "Within this defense community, the so-called 'military dynamic of the Germans will be limited and kept on the right line." He knows well that German "military dynamic" is much more than a quotable phrase.

Since the foundation of the Reich the mission of the German army has been not merely to defend existing frontiers but to expand them. It would be indeed naive to expect a Germany locked between the Saar and the Oder-Neisse to use the arms given it to fight for the principles proclaimed by democratic Americans. Those who cherish this dream will be rapidly disillusioned if they follow the present German electoral campaign. Take, for instance, July 26 at Cologne. A crowd of nearly four hundred thousand has gathered to hear Dr. Adenauer. The refugees from the lost province of Silesia are well represented. They applaud the Chancellor when he assures them that they will one day regain their homes. The reaction is less enthusiastic when he repeats twice "by peaceful means." Then it is the turn of the former Reichstag President, Paul Löbe, a statesman who commands respect both for his years and his honorable record. Löbe also favors the return of the refugees to their homes, but recommends tolerance; once they have returned, they should try to conciliate those Poles who may wish to remain. In his fifty-five-years' political career he has probably never been so booed and abused.

MANY NAZI army officers and civil servants have been liberated by those seeking the votes of Hitler's former followers. The moment they are free they speak with extraordinary self-assurance and frankness. Dr. Naumann, Secretary of State for Propaganda under Hitler, who was arrested when his plot against the Bonn government was exposed by the British, has been freed by the Supreme Court. In his first speech after his release he said he was sorry Chancellor Adenauer, whom he considered a "great personality," had allowed himself to be misled by the British. Naumann has been put on the ticket of the extreme-nationalist German Reich Party in three states.

The era of "denazification" has faded into an unreal past. On his return from the United States a few weeks ago Adenauer's special envoy, Dr. Herbert Blankenhorn, reported that Secretary Dulles fully understood the desire of the government to strengthen its position by freeing most of the still-detained war criminals, and had spoken in this sense to the British and French. Every step favorable to the Nazis is acclaimed in Bonn as "realistic" policy, as was Washington's decision to recall from Germany all American diplomats with a reputation for liberalism.

The generals are the most ardently courted as the campaign advances. Candidates for Parliament particularly like to address audiences of former Hitler officers. At a large meeting in Hanover addressed by speakers of various parties, twenty thousand officers and ex-soldiers cheered each reference to Germany's glorious past. All branches of the S. S. were represented with the exception of the Gestapo—the moment for that has not yet arrived. Right and center parties compete for the favor of any general who distinguished himself in the war.

Such are the circumstances in which the future German army is being prepared, in case the European army fails to win ratification. These circumstances prove beyond any doubt that even if Chancellor Adenauer wins the elections, he will be forced farther and farther to the right. Meanwhile Russian propaganda for unification is having its effect on a population passionately committed to that objective. Three of the big moderate papers that normally would have supported Adenauer—the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, the *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, and the *Deutsche und Wirtschaft Zeitung*—no longer defend his full identification with American foreign policy. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* has even reproached him for adopting a line which may cause Germany "to miss its historic chance" to reach an agreement with Russia that will reunite the country.

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ONE-PARTY TELEVISION

It's Big Money . . . *by Bruce Catton*

Washington

MAYBE the subject would not seem quite so important if the present Administration had not shown such a taste for selling political programs with the same approach and techniques that are used for selling automobiles and detergents. But since that is so, it may be worth while to consider briefly the present trend toward corporate domination of that mass-communications system of immeasurable potentiality, television.

A similar trend has of course long been visible in the newspaper field, where concentration of ownership and control have presented the country with a *fait accompli,* the one-party press. The development takes on particular significance now because the Republican Administration controls the Federal Communications Commission, and because the Siamese-twin relationship between the Administration and big business means that any one-party television setup would inevitably tend to give the Administration all the breaks.

The whole philosophy of government regulation of broadcasting, whether by radio or television, is that it must be kept competitive. From the beginning of the F. C. C. the government has been committed to the prevention of monopoly and the diversification of ownership. But the going is very tough. Television is rapidly becoming big business. It is still less expensive, of course, to become owner of a new TV station than to establish a metropolitan newspaper, but the gap is narrowing. More and more, dominance in the field lies with those who can git thar fustest with the mostest money.

To an extent, this is admittedly a natural development. Television is a new field offering very large profits, and it is bound to attract the big money. It also offers direct and often deadly competition to the newspaper, radio, and moving-picture industries, and in sheer self-protection the leaders in those fields are going to get in on it as fast and as extensively as they can.

In addition, however, there is the fact that to run a TV station you have to

have a government license. The channels available are limited. A license, therefore, is worth money—in some cases, a great deal of money. Technically, licenses are renewable annually and can be revoked; actually, any government agency is going to be very chary of revoking a license the value of which may run into millions of dollars. In practice, if you have a license it is your property, and if you choose you can sell it.

Sales must be approved by the F. C. C., to be sure. In that fact lies whatever protection the public has against the trend toward monopoly. The first question, then, is about the commission's rules with regard to TV-station ownership. These rules are fairly simple: single ownership of stations whose service areas overlap is forbidden; in any case, no one person or corporation may own more than five stations. By implication ownership of as many as five stations *is* permitted.

Recently the number of five-station owners has increased from three to six. Until this spring the only five-station owners in the country were NBC, the recently merged ABC-United Paramount combination, and CBS, which owns three stations and holds substantial minority interests in two more. Then the March issue of the trade magazine *Broadcasting-Telecasting* announced that TV's "charmed circle" had acquired three more inhabitants, listing them as the Storer Broadcasting Company, which had made a tentative agreement to buy WRBC-TV at Birmingham for $2,400,000; the Empire Coal Company, which had got its fifth authorization for Channel 67 in Indianapolis, and the Grant Wrathall–Frank Carman–David G. Smith group, which had got a construction permit for Channel 2 in Salt Lake City.

The price paid by the Storer company was moderate. The record high is $8,500,000 paid last winter by Westinghouse for the Philco-owned station WPTZ-TV in Philadelphia. The previous high had been $6,000,000 paid by CBS for the facilities of WBKB-TV in Chicago. It should be noted that the principal item of value in these transactions is the license itself, since the cost of the equipment does not remotely approach the prices paid. The license, of course, simply represents the right to exclusive use of a particular channel, a right conferred by the people of the United States through their government.

EQUALLY INTERESTING is the trend toward increased ownership of TV stations by newspapers. At present 355 TV stations have been authorized, of which 185 are in operation. Of the 355 authorized stations, fifty-one are owned outright by newspapers or by their wholly-owned subsidiaries; in thirteen, the majority stock ownership is held by newspapers; in twelve, individuals owning substantial newspaper stock hold a majority interest; in seven, newspapers hold a minority interest; in three, individuals who own newspaper stock hold a minority interest. To summarize: of the 355 existing or authorized TV stations, 86—or approximately 25 per cent—have newspaper affiliation of

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one kind or another. Interestingly enough, the same percentage applies to the ownership of the 2,000-odd existing or authorized radio stations throughout the country.

The advisability of newspaper ownership is one of the controversial issues in connection with the granting of TV licenses and the approval of license transfers. Is competition promoted or diminished when an established leader in one field of communications takes control of an outlet in a new and competitive field? The F. C. C. has never formally ruled on the question. Its chairman, Rosel H. Hyde, an Idaho Republican who was named to the post by President Eisenhower a few months ago, told the National Association of Radio and Television Broadcasters that the F. C. C. should not "discriminate" against license applicants because of the nature of the applicant's business. In other words, the commission should not arbitrarily rule that a newspaper should not enter the television field.

THE MANEUVERINGS that can go on when a powerful newspaper wants a television channel were strikingly illustrated a few months ago in connection with competition for a license for Channel 10 in Milwaukee. The city has three VHF (ordinary commercial frequency) channels: Channel 4, held by the Milwaukee *Journal;* Channel 12, for which two Milwaukee commercial firms are competing; and Channel 10, which the F. C. C. had set aside for non-commercial use by the new educational segment of the industry now beginning to take form.

Channel 10 was sought by the Milwaukee Vocational School in line with the F. C. C.'s ruling, but the Milwaukee *Sentinel,* a Hearst paper, filed in opposition. In February, Senators McCarthy and Wiley of Wisconsin wrote to the F. C. C. urging that "in the best interests of the people of Wisconsin" the channel be withdrawn from educational use and assigned to the commercial field. But the commission, with Commissioner Hyde dissenting, dismissed the Hearst bid on April 1.

Then things began to happen. John C. Doerfer, former chairman of the Wisconsin Public Service Commission, was appointed to the F. C. C., a step which gave the Republicans a commission majority. About the same time Senator McCarthy opened an extraordinary one-man "hearing" on the F. C. C., calling in Democratic Commissioner Eugene H. Merrill, who was about to be replaced by Doerfer, and Paul Walker, then chairman of the commission and about to be replaced by Hyde. The hearing was not public and no transcript of the proceedings has ever been released; apparently the primary object was to delay any F. C. C. action on the Hearst paper's application for a rehearing until after the political complexion of the commission was changed. If that was the scheme, it worked. At any rate the Hearst paper's application for a rehearing is still pending.

Shortly thereafter an unusual maneuver took place in Wisconsin, where the legislature hurriedly passed without public hearings, and Governor Kohler signed, a law creating a new state television council, empowered to take over any educational TV station which might be set up in the state. The state of Wisconsin can now argue that even if Channel 10 should retain its educational status, not the Milwaukee Vocational School but the state council should be the agency to get it.

The Milwaukee situation, incidentally, is not the only TV problem in which Senator McCarthy has shown an interest. He recently introduced a bill into the Senate which would require all radio and TV stations to keep permanent record of everything they sent out over the air, presumably to make things easier for his investigators. Had such a law been in effect in 1950, the Senator would have been caught cold on his famous Wheeling, West Virginia, speech.

What will happen next in Milwaukee is anybody's guess. The case reveals the wide range of pressures which can be applied when a powerful newspaper—or any other powerful corporation—wants to get in on the TV business. The trend toward monopoly is naturally affected by such pressures.

MEANWHILE the big TV operators are strongly urging that the limit of five stations under single ownership be set aside. The squeeze is on to "clean out the left-wingers and the New Dealers" from the F. C. C., just as it has been on to purge other government agencies; such a "cleansing" would undoubtedly mean that the big operators would have their way. The general understanding here is that if something along this line is not accomplished by the F. C. C. under Chairman Hyde, there will be a new commission chairman a year from now.

This is, of course, *your* air the commission and the operators are dealing with; it is *your* license that carries such a heavy cash value; and it is *your* government that is setting out to persuade you of its high-souled devotion to the public interest by means of "simulcasts" carefully framed and angled by the most expensive advertising men in the business.

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News Item: A county superintendent of schools in California has promised his district school boards a guidebook to enable them to avoid buying "Communist-tinged" textbooks.

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BOOKS

Did Gide Represent Our Time?

PORTRAIT OF ANDRE GIDE. By Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

By Joseph Wood Krutch

THE popularity of André Gide is certainly not of the widest possible sort, but among people of consciously literary interests it has grown to imposing proportions. As a matter of fact, it would be not too much to say that at the time of his death there was no other living man whom so many such people were ready to accept as *the* representative writer of our time, almost as one who might be called the Hero as Man of Letters. Mr. O'Brien's substantial study, partly biographical but with the main stress on an analysis of Gide's thought and temperament as revealed in his principal works, is likely to remain a major presentation of the subject. Mr. O'Brien is a specialist in French culture; he enjoyed the confidence of Gide, whom he saw from time to time over a period of many years; and he has threaded his way with great dexterity through the ambiguities and inconsistencies of his subject's mind. He conceals nothing, but his sympathies are never overridden by the irritations so evident in the brief excerpts recently published from the journal of Martin du Gard.

Now if Gide really was the representative man of letters of his time, what was it that made him so, or—if that question is too strong—what are some of the outstanding characteristics which were at least compatible with his position and hence of some significance in suggesting the temper, the preoccupations, and the ideals of the group which accepted him as representative?

First of all one will notice, of course, that he was preeminently a pure writer—despite the fact that he was also a moralist in the Manichean sense that Baudelaire and Huysmans were moralists, which means most aware of good in connection with evil. From childhood he was already "literary" in a sense that Englishmen or Americans rarely are and already tacitly assuming that man writing is man engaged in the occupation which best becomes him. As one reads Mr. O'Brien's account of his friendships at the Lycée Henri Quatre or of how, while still in his teens, he frequented the salon of Mallarmé, one realizes how rarely any English or American writer grows up in a similar atmosphere and how unlikely it is therefore that he will ever take literature as quite so self-evidently the final end of man. But if the literary world of England and America nevertheless accepts Gide as the representative writer, that perhaps means that it is ready to accept as an ideal a degree of absorption in literature itself, a remoteness from the everyday business of life, which is uncommon even among those native writers who are accused by the socially and politically minded of having no concern with "social significance."

THAT GIDE flirted briefly with communism and then revolted against it certainly helps to make him typical, but typical is not the same as "representative," and it is possibly more significant that he should further mark his separateness from the non-literary public, that he should distrust popularity, and that in an age which outside literature has been fanatically devoted to the ideals of health, normality, and "adjustment" he should say: "Health does not seem to me such an enviable possession. It is merely an equilibrium, a state of mediocrity in everything. . . . A humpback is a man plus a hump, and I prefer that you should look upon health as a deficiency of disease."

Some might even maintain that his homosexuality—he preferred to be more precise and put himself in the sub-class of pederasts—was another characteristic which contributed to his representativeness. He at least regarded it as a fact of primary importance, partly perhaps because it so perfectly demonstrated his anarchical "sincerity" and determination to "be himself." The tendency to "dissociate" is also certainly one of the strong tendencies of our time, and Gide early made up his mind to dissociate love from pleasure. "I have ceased," he said, "to believe in sin"; and he was convinced that both love and pleasure would be purer as well as more intense if the heart and the body went their separate ways. Following no doubt Gide's own attitude, Mr. O'Brien speaks of Gide's first experience with the pleasures of pederasty as a "liberating encounter" and of Gide's first contact with other men who shared his taste as "an important step in Gide's moral liberation."

One of the portraits which Mr. O'Brien publishes—taken in 1926—reveals a kindly and humorous face not in the least embittered or ravaged. That is not at all what one would say of a portrait of most mature "immoralists," such as, for example, Baudelaire. It certainly does not contribute to making Gide seem typical. But perhaps it makes him representative by suggesting that those modern seekers who find little except relativism and anarchy deserve for their integrity and their talents a better fate. In any event, and for whatever reason, the fact remains that the "representative" contemporary search for certain seemingly admirable things has a way of finding an awful chasm at the end of the road.

Gide is undeniably representative in that his grand goals have been sincerity, freedom, and the discovery of the real self. But does it make him even more indubitably representative if we say that in each case the nearer he came to reaching one of these goals the more clearly it seemed to reveal itself to be, not the stable absolute which it has been the best dream of mankind to find, but some relativity, or delusion, or vacuum?

What does "sincerity" reveal except what was once thought to be the shameful? What does the "real self" turn out to be except a welter of conflicting impulses in the face of which it is possible to say only that I am what I am, must do what I do, and that therefore good and evil are one? What does freedom in the end come down to but

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JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH, formerly The Nation's *drama critic, will bring out a new book this fall, "The Best of Two Worlds."*

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that *reductio ad absurdum* the *"acte gratuite,"* typified by the motiveless murder committed by the hero of "Les Caves du Vatican." Against the stultifying doctrine of either economic or psychological determinism Gide seems here heroically to assert the freedom of the will—but it is only in doing gratuitous evil that it can clearly manifest itself.

IT IS TRUE as Mr. O'Brien points out that when the dadaists seized on the term *acte gratuite* as a slogan and made the accomplishment of such an act the most significant human achievement, Gide not only repudiated their attitude but also asserted that he did not mean to imply the reality of free will, only to distinguish between acts which have an obvious motive and those which "elude the ordinary psychological explanations." Presumably he would not approve the judgment of Guillaume Apollinaire, who when undertaking to name the "freest spirit that ever lived," chose—the Marquis de Sade. But the step or misstep from Gide to Apollinaire is easily taken. Is it, perhaps, all but inevitable unless in some way or to some extent one asks, "Sincerity *about* what?" and "Freedom *for* what?"

Many modern writers have promised to plunge into the abyss in order that, having known evil, we may come at last to understand good. While still a very young man Gide himself wrote to a friend, "Literature must be hurled into an abyss of sensualism from which it will later emerge altogether regenerated." This has a very familiar ring. Perhaps I am not the only one beginning to ask, "Just how much later is that likely to be?" Have those who proposed the program merely demonstrated again that though the descent into Avernus is easy the coming up again presents difficulties?

Whatever one may think of such questions, at least one fact seems clear. If Gide is the most representative modern writer, then literature seems to be widening the gulf between itself and the spirit of the age as that spirit manifests itself in other activities. That spirit is—and in the view of some disastrously so—pragmatic, utilitarian, instrumentalist, materialistic, and committed to the worship of norms, of averages, and of commonnesses. But it is certainly not obvious that literature will correct the extravagances of an alien age if it insists upon the fanatical cultivation of opposite extravagances instead of attempting, somehow, to mediate between the two.

Prognostic

There comes a moment late in summer
When yellow pulses like a muffled bell,
A tremor foreboding the mortal stroke,
The first faltering of the chlorophyll.

This is not the yellow haunting the mind
In ghost of crocus, daffodil, lemon-bright
Forsythia, new butter of the daisy disk,
Yellow dissolving light, dissolved in light.

That airy yellow, cream yellow, flaxen yellow,
Spirit yellow washed pale gold by the spring sun,
Together with flesh of primrose, jonquil, buttercup,
Has long since drowned in a heavy sea of green.

No, this yellow is waxen, tawny, buff,
Mottled gold of straw, wheat stalk, corn husk:
Darkness is a presence, fog an interfusion—
This is antique amber holding an inner dusk.

There comes a moment when thought reverberates
And yellow is a passing bell; indeed, tomorrow
Stains the world hectic, speckles it with red fever,
Then wastes and crumples it to dry brown sorrow.

SAMUEL YELLEN

Magic over Korea

FOLK TALES FROM KOREA. Collected and Translated into English by Zong In-Sob. Grove Press. $4.50.

Professor Zong, of the Central University in Seoul, has been actively interested in the literary and folkloristic heritage of his country for the past twenty-five years, or since he was a young student in Tokyo. This is therefore no haphazard collection of tales thrown together to meet the obvious need of Westerners, and particularly of the English-speaking peoples, for a key to the Korean *Geist.* This careful selection of ninety-nine tales is the product of ceaseless research and the culling which went into the publication of two earlier volumes—one, translations of Korean tales into Japanese; the other, a two-volume collection of "Fairy Tales from Many Countries" which Professor Zong edited for British publication and which contained the first selection of Korean folk tales available in English.

The vast selective work of which the present volume is the end result reveals a fine, sensitive, and orderly mind, ideally suited to interpret an unknown culture to the neophyte. It must be remembered throughout that these tales were largely unrecorded, hence are filtered now through a single talent. This would explain the similarity, even occasional monotony, not of the subject matter but of the treatment. And Zong's desire to communicate and explain in the smallest compass possible would excuse the interpolation in the text of the tales themselves of pertinent facts which might best have been referred to in notes. The desire to eliminate academic apparatus so far as was possible probably dictated Professor Zong's method.

Reminding us that Korea has known an evolving culture which spans four thousand years and which has been influenced by a half-dozen major religions, Professor Zong has given us a brief glimpse of his country's complex history, enough background, that is, to permit reading the tales somewhat in context.

The collection itself is divided into five groups: myths or tales "which describe the creation of the world and of natural beings"; legends, including tales derived from anecdotes about individuals "which contain some historical facts"; fairy tales; fables; and finally the sum-

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marized autobiographical lays of three early writers which have been retold so often as to become part of the popular heritage.

This breakdown gives the reader a chance to see, in different forms, the reactions of the folk-voice from various parts of the country to the conditions, geographical and economic, under which the people have lived. The folk tale is unique as sociological source material, and Zong's collection is exceptionally rich.

The Appendix includes an index of sources and an excellent index of subjects in which, for example, we find that death is referred to in thirty-one tales while a flower occurs in but one; the horse, by the same token, is more important than the village and the tiger than the horse; the mountain and night each outranks any reference, however frequent, to human beings (man, woman, son, daughter, husband, wife), and brooding magic and incantation, entered under a hundred disguises, hangs over all.

FRANCES KEENE

New Books in Brief

Roots of Abstract Art

THE ORIGINS OF ART. By Gene Weltfish. Bobbs-Merrill. $4.50.

Three decades of scholarly research undertaken by the author, a pupil of Franz Boas, lie behind this elaborate synthesis of what anthropology, ethnology, and archaeology have contributed to a solution of the problem of the origins of art. The present work is a detailed and specialized affair, but its point of reference to a riddle of basic human significance should recommend it to the more general reader. The argument rests in the main on a study of the arts of weaving and pottery as practiced by Indian tribes in Oklahoma and the Southwest, but the author has much to say about the significance of the prehistoric cave paintings of the Ukraine, France, and Spain. In fact, she finds parallels of absorbing interest which seem to indicate fundamental human approaches to artistic expression. The most important of her conclusions is that abstract art is as old as representational art and as elemental, and that it need not be interpreted as having symbolic meaning. On the contrary, abstract art develops out of the process of making things, and the weaving of mattings appears to be the primary source, both in prehistoric times and in the development of the art of primitive Indian cultures.

An epilogue contains a number of answers to popular misconceptions, such as that one can learn about the origins of art by watching children learn to draw, and that the cave paintings are beautiful because the cave man was a naive child of nature and painted them spontaneously out of a primary urge.

Anyone who supposes that modern abstract art has no profound roots in human experience, or that it is mere contemporary superstructure, or that the Graeco-Roman tradition is somehow more noble and valuable ought to ponder Gene Weltfish's deductions.

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A Great Rank-and-Filer

ERNEST BEVIN: PORTRAIT OF A GREAT ENGLISHMAN. By Francis Williams. British Book Center. $4.50

Blending affection with an admirable candor, Mr. Williams easily convinces us that Ernest Bevin was indeed a great labor leader and a great Englishman. But many readers will question the further claim that Bevin was also a great Foreign Secretary, although possibly future historians will decide that his share in the reconstruction of Europe compensates for the abject failure of his Palestine policy. In any case, this was the final phase of an astonishing career, the story of which is well worth the telling.

Bevin, who left school to work on a farm at the age of twelve, was nearly thirty before he became a trade unionist. His ability and drive soon overcame the handicap of a late start, and by the time he was forty-five he had organized the largest labor organization in the world, the Transport and General Workers Union, and was perhaps the most powerful figure in the British labor movement. The methods by which he acquired this power and the ways in which he used it were often rough. He was ruthless in action and did not bear opposition gracefully. On the other hand, he never became a careerist, never lost "the art . . . of remaining a member of the rank and file." That was the secret of his immense success as war-time Minister of Labor. In that capacity he directed the most comprehensive mobilization of man-power ever undertaken by a democratic country, exercising a dictatorial authority over the lives of all Britons. It was, however, an authority secured not so much by penalties as by the loyalty of the workers to a man they knew was always loyal to them.

Soviet Life and Fiction

THROUGH THE GLASS OF SOVIET LITERATURE. Views of Russian Society. Edited by Ernest J. Simmons. Columbia. $4.50.

The purpose of these interesting essays by five members of the Russian Institute of Columbia University is to reveal various facets of the Russian contemporary scene through Soviet fiction. The situation of women and their role in family and public life are examined at some length by Louise Luke. Bernard Choseed shows us Jews as portrayed by Russian and Yiddish novelists. Gene Sosin, Rebecca Domar, and Robert Hankin study, respectively, the children, theater, and drama in Soviet education, the case of Zoshchenko, the satirist, declared "enemy of the people" by Communist critics, and the post-war literary polemics. Novels, short stories, and plays are used as source material and to illustrate social trends.

This method inevitably raises the question of the validity of literary evidence in a country where the arts are rigorously controlled by governmental agencies. Professor Ernest J. Simmons, in his illuminating and widely documented introduction, attempts to establish some criteria for judging how far Soviet fiction can be accepted as a truthful reflection of life. He points out that while Soviet writers enjoyed a certain

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amount of creative freedom in the twenties, strict ideological discipline has been imposed since 1946 and socialist realism has been the only permitted style. And he emphasizes that whoever wishes to use Soviet literature as valid sociological evidence must take these shifts into account. The tightening or loosening of controls in the different periods of Communist evolution has had and still has a direct bearing upon the veracity of Soviet fiction. In other words, every Russian novel or poem must be placed in the political and economic context of a particular period. Only with these reservations can it be used as basic material for understanding Soviet society.

Napoleon as Gog

FOR THE SAKE OF HEAVEN. By Martin Buber. Translated from the German by Ludwig Lewisohn. Harper. $3.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Napoleon was striking across Europe toward both Egypt and Russia, some of the Hasidic rabbis in Poland and Hungary viewed him as the Biblical figure Gog whose triumph and destruction would herald the redemption of Israel. Martin Buber, professor of social philosophy at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem, has taken the series of Hasidic legends clustered around this theme and turned them into a remarkable chronicle—perhaps one of the best books of the year. Not much is revealed about Napoleon, of course, but a great deal is told about the world of the Hasidim and their way of life.

To an ousider, it is a curious mixture of pagan and religious influences, of magic and morality, of metaphysical thought and the simplest, deepest kind of piety. The central figure is Rabbi Jacob Yitzhak, the "Seer of Lublin." His opponent in the struggle, the Yehudi of Pshysha, has the same name, and is his loving disciple as well as mortal enemy, intellectually and morally. The Freudian undertones are instructive as well as fascinating; the circles of the lesser rabbis may remind you of the Arthurian legends or of the origins of Christianity itself. Altogether an original and moving chronicle, full of wisdom and not without humor. "O Eternal," says one of these Biblical visionaries, "if you will not redeem the Jews, at least redeem the Goyim."

In the Vale of Kashmir

KINGFISHERS CATCH FIRE. By Rumer Godden. Viking. $3.50.

Probably Rumer Godden belongs to the Elizabeth Bowen area in English writing of private sensibility, limited perfection, but her own insights are directed outward toward areas of experience that are both more exotic and more vital. The present tale concerns an English widow in India who determines to make her own way—and seek her salvation—in a primitive village. She starts an herb industry to support herself; she is impulsive, generous, and extravagant. She is kind to the villagers where they don't understand kindness; she can be harsh, unconsciously, where they don't understand harshness. She discovers gradually that she has become the victim of a plot to destroy her through narcotics and poisons, while her daughter is attacked and left for dead by the goat-herd children.

The novel is well worth reading, though the moralism preached toward the close is less effective than the ironic vision of experience embodied in the narrative itself. Miss Godden's heroine is on the side of virtue, but her largeness of character and intensity of belief, including real ruthlessness, make it clear that life is not only a matter of good-will. The descriptions of the Kashmir scene are admirable.

Theater

Harold Clurman

London

IT IS characteristic of the London stage today that the most generally admired production—which I arrived too late to see—was that of the seventeenth-century play "Venice Preserved," and that the two productions I liked best among those I did have the opportunity to see were revivals of Shakespeare's "Henry VI (Part 3)" and Shaw's "The Apple Cart."

The English theater today is a theater of actors and old plays. The work of a Christopher Fry, a T. S. Eliot cannot be said to constitute a contemporary national drama. For the rest there is the competent entertainment of craftsmen whose plays might be compared to engaging conversation on topics of current interest—and the presentation of foreign shows, particularly featherweight comedies and musicals from the United States. The most attractive aspect of the English theater to me is the steadiness of its activity and the loyalty of its audiences.

The production of "Henry VI" stirred me on a number of counts. The play has a kind of crazy turbulence and sudden eloquence that are rousing in a way which more ordered plays rarely achieve. Watching this chronicle of internecine struggle in England's fifteenth century, one feels as if one were thrown headlong into a world of grandiose savagery which sets us whirling in its chaos and yet redeems us by imparting a sense of almost godlike elevation.

As I sat before the excellent production given by the young company of the Birmingham Repertory Theater (playing at the Old Vic), I felt the perpetual contemporaneity of Shakespeare as an *English* playwright. The play did not seem an archaic piece of dramatic literature but something that was part of the audience's family history. There appeared to be a continuity of tradition between the kings and queens of the War of the Roses, Shakespeare's record of it, and the people seated in the theater. The actors too, for all their youthful delicacy, looked very much as if they were the direct descendants of the race of knights they portrayed.

"The Apple Cart" was a bore when it was done by the Theater Guild in New York in 1930. In the production at the Haymarket—what a charming theater, as are most of the London playhouses—the play becomes a delightfully civilized prank.

The change has been accomplished by giving it a luxuriously gay background—the couch for the "love scene" of the second act is of impossibly extravagant dimensions; by casting it handsomely with actors who speak well; and

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by treating it generally with a certain lack of "seriousness"—part Max Beerbohm caricature and part 1920 revue—that benefits Shaw immensely. Noel Coward's King Magnus is more the gorgeous snob than the incisive seer the author envisioned, but I am not sure that in this instance the fashionable decorativeness of Coward's manner is not an asset.

"ESCAPADE," by Roger MacDougall, strikes me as a London slicky. The play begins almost farcically—though this is probably due more to the performance than to the writing—with a picture of a pacifist propagandist who blusters, bellows, and browbeats everyone and consequently is beginning to bore his wife. Their marriage seems on the verge of a split when they discover that their sons at a secondary school have taken off in an airplane for an unknown but alarmingly remote destination. The second act is an amusing, almost disarming picture of a sympathetic headmaster's difficulties with the brightly "hep" youngsters of his school in league with the two boys who have disappeared. In the third act we learn that these boys—who, by the way, are never seen—having taken their father's preaching as an incentive, have flown to the seat of the U. N. to present a statement of their earnest pacifist convictions, attested to by the fact that they have risked their lives to do so. This act is a sly tear-jerker, playing on both our sympathy for youthful idealism and the Englishman's profound hope for peace.

I can understand the success of Graham Greene's controversial "The Living Room." What is controversial about it is that while it suggests a religious (Catholic) message, it is likely to disturb the religious and the Catholic even more than others.

The play follows a conventional plot pattern: a young girl from a devout Catholic family falls in love with a married man whose hysterical wife refuses him a divorce. The girl's wards (her aunts) insist on cutting her off from her sinful love; she is determined to follow her feelings. But these become confused when she faces the wife, for whom despite the woman's destructive possessiveness she begins to feel pity. The girl also notices that her lover is torn between his love and his need to protect his wife. In despair the girl turns to her uncle, a disabled priest, for positive consolation and support. But the priest in anguish admits that he has no conclusive word of solace to offer the girl. He only feels sure that she must do what tradition ordains, that is, renounce the man she loves and have faith in God and his healing. The girl, unable either to believe in God or to stand by her instincts, commits suicide.

If I am not certain that my interpretation of the play's crucial scene conveys its true meaning, it may be because of something ambiguous in it and its author. I am certain, however, that Greene's feeling rejects complacency and that much of the play evinces an abhorrence of bigotry or habitual religious dogmatism. What commands the audience's attention aside from its literate writing and a certain brooding intensity in its atmosphere is that it reflects something the audience is concerned with in terms of an intimate personal dilemma it can understand.

The play's actual fabric is poor: most of the characters are schematically sketched, the situations are foreshortened to accommodate an awkward dramatic structure, and there is, for all the fine words, a deficiency of full expression, which is due not only to imperfect artistic means but to a lack of spiritual candor on the author's part, as if his faith were either a compromise of some sort or of such a nature as to bewilder or horrify those whose religious faith is more innocent.

BOTH "Escapade" and "The Living Room" are given with a professional expertness that is usually praised for smoothness, tightness, clarity, and scenic accuracy. The directors know their jobs; the actors have authority. That is why it is necessary to say that both plays are quite badly done. "Escapade" is all tricks—momentarily gratifying but rather cheap and discomfiting in the end. "The Living Room" is approached more solemnly. But that excellent actor, Eric Portman (probably miscast), with his fine voice and chiseled readings, utterly destroys the sense of inner disarray which is the essence of the priest's part in this play. The director has made so great an effort to render each moment meticulously neat that he has ironed out the "folds" of life that the play might

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contain if it moved with a less stiff precision. A charming young actress, Dorothy Tuttin, is winning and convincing till she really has to *act* the play's critical situations. Only Mary Jerrold, who is cast as a childlike old lady, brings the air of life and truth to the proceedings. The technique of the others is too "polished" to provide anything but favorable notices.

Records

B. H. Haggin

THE early English keyboard music issued by London (LL-712/3) includes one magnificent piece, Bull's "In Nomine," a fantasy on a plainsong melody, played well on the organ by Geraint Jones; and on the same record (712) are a few other pieces I liked: Gibbons's A Fancy in A re, also played by Jones, Tomkins's Pavan in A minor, played well on the harpsichord by Elizabeth Goble, and Byrd's well-known Earl of Salisbury's Pavan and Galliard, played by Miss Goble on the virginals. The other pieces by Byrd, Philips, and Bull on this record did not hold my interest; nor did the ones on the other record, except the anonymous "New Noddy," played on the harpsichord by Thurston Dart, and Gibbons's Lord Salisbury's Pavan and Galliard, played by Miss Goble.

Nor did I find interesting the two Gibbons Fantasias and Locke Consort of Ffowre Parts played very beautifully by the New Music Quartet (Bartok 913); but on the reverse side are the superb Pavan and Chacony of Purcell, which, one is amazed to read in the notes, "were Purcell's first instrumental works, written when he was little more than twenty years old." They take, I might add, only fifteen minutes to play, making the 12-inch side and record rather expensive.

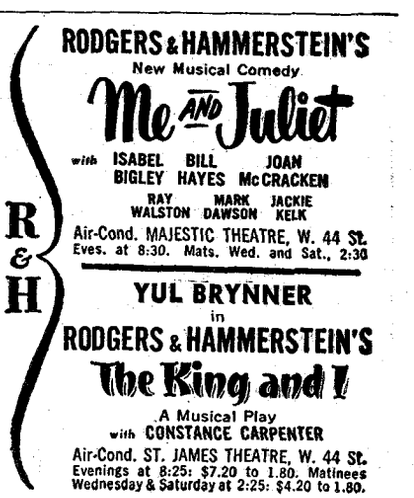
The Marais Suites Nos. 4 and 5 for viola da gamba and figured bass, played well by Eva Heinetz and Ernst Victor Wolff, harpsichordist (EMS 8), I found uninteresting.

Mozart's Sonata K.526 for violin and piano, the finest of the series, with a wonderful Andante movement between two delightful fast movements, and the Sonata K.454, which has a lovely Andante, come off the record (London LL-739) unenlivened by the playing of Frederick Grinke and Kendall Taylor.

On the other hand, enchanting is the word for the fluidity, grace, and elegance of the playing of Pierre Fournier and the Stuttgart Chamber Orchestra under Münchinger in a beautiful Vivaldi Cello Concerto in E minor, some charming Pièces en concert by Couperin originally for viola da gamba and figured bass, and the so-called Boccherini Concerto in B flat (London LL-687). The notes go so far as to say the Boccherini's "authenticity has been questioned"; but a few years ago I had the dependable word of Charles B. Farrell, who had traced every theme to its source, that the Cello Concerto in B flat is actually a work by Grützmacher using themes abstracted from several works of Boccherini and often "grotesquely altered"; and that the "form, harmony, general style, accompaniments, and orchestration, all of which are the sole work of the 'editor,' have nothing whatever in common with Boccherini's practice." Farrell quoted a passage from van der Straeten's "History of the Violoncello" in which van der Straeten, after deploring the "sonatas" that Grützmacher "pieced together from half a dozen original compositions," and the "concert edition" of Bach's solo sonatas "in which he crowds additional chords, passages, and embellishments, distorting these great and fine works," goes on to make the nonsensical statement "Yet for all that, we must be thankful for the many works which he has rescued and made accessible." Nonsensical—here as in the case of Rimsky-Korsakov and "Boris Godunov"—when what has been made accessible is not the great works but distortions of them, which keep the true works from becoming known.

Writing after my criticism of Horowitz's recomposition of Musorgsky's "Pictures at an Exhibition," Farrell went into "the whole business of altering other people's music, a practice that began at the end of the eighteenth century . . . Dr. Burney may have thundered against the 'bestialities' of Blow and the licentious chords of Gesualdo, but at least he wasn't moved to rewrite them. But it wasn't long after the turn of the century that the 'corrector' began to rear his head; and he flourishes to this day" (as Ralph Kirkpatrick has shown more recently in a discussion of Scarlatti's harmony and the "corrections" in the Longo edition).

"The nineteenth century," Farrell continued, "was the first to show any interest in the past; but its musicians were ignorant of the conditions under which the music of earlier times was written, and indifferent to the requirements of its own time for its performance, and were interested only in making it palatable to their own time in terms of the available resources of their time for performance." Hence their "editions" of the classical literature, which moreover publishers could copyright, and from which players of today still learn this music. Having just investigated the classical literature for cello, Farrell had found only the Bach sonatas, the Vivaldi sonatas, and the Haydn D major Concerto available in reliable editions. And even with this edition of the Haydn now available, "to this day cellists usually learn the Haydn concerto from Gaevert's 'edition,' which, besides being rescored, has half the recapitulation of the first movement cut out because Gaevert didn't understand the nature of its form." Similarly with Corelli's original available in Chrysander's edition, violinists all play the Leonard "edition" of Corelli's "La Folia," which "should be called Leonard's 'La Folia,' which is what it is."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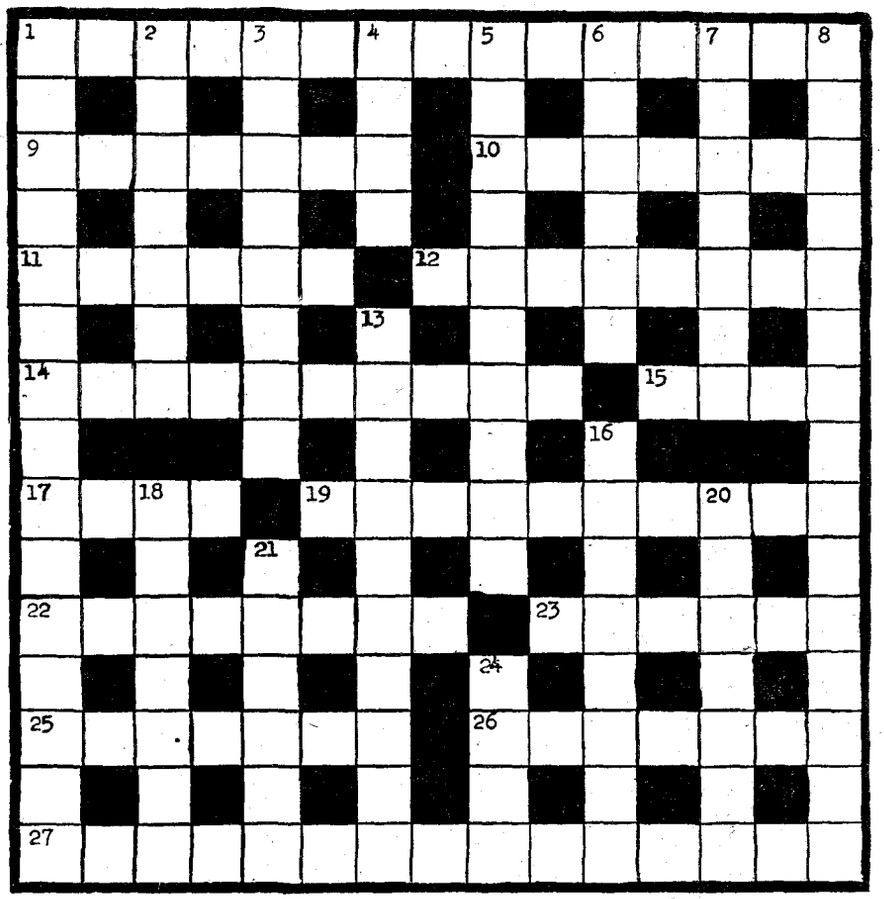
Crossword Puzzle No. 528

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 A scheme for getting into the office on time? (11, 4)
9 Wounds, chickens, and people get it. (7)
10 Continue to act up. (5, 2)
11 Putting the question royally? (6)
12 Is in good-humored raillery and railing. (8)
14 The ring-pin gets broken as part of the operation. (10)
15 Quiet little fellow, in the money. (4)
17 Transported, in part. (4)
19 Discharged on time in a French city. (10)
22 Mad about the equipment? It's one way to promote a little green stuff! (8)
23 The end of dinner at seven, for some people. (6)
25 They may be said to be a structure of rosin in the bone. (7)
26 Insulation, but not to a remedy, perhaps. (7)
27 What happens if you're unable to count? There's some doubt about it! (3, 5, 3, 4)

DOWN

1 Cleveland's jurisdiction? (6, 9)
2 Spot. (7)
3 Sailors in the drink? (8)
4 This killer might be 9 to kill. (4)
5 This should be holding fast each inning. (10)
6 Mountain, clear and hot. (6)
7 It might be the first habit a child acquires. (7)
8 He gets no 15 as a result of his activity. (15)
13 You could find a sorry state here, in a rather vulgar way. (2, 3, 5)
16 Flesh appearance, as it were. (2, 6)
18 Haunt, perhaps. (7)
20 If you can't do this, 27! (7)
21 Found in sign or ensign. (6)
24 Notice when this goes over! (4)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 527

ACROSS:—1 BLIND ALLEY; 6 ISLE; 10 IMPRESS; 11 HANGERS; 12 IT'S A SMALL WORLD; 14 and 9 IN ONE EAR AND OUT THE OTHER; 15 STUCCO; 16 KEWPIE; 18 PUSHCART; 22 MORNING-GLORIES; 24 REGARDS; 25 ATHLETE; 26 NOTE; 27 UNDERRATES.

DOWN:—1 BAILIWICKS; 2 IMPASTO; 3 DRESS DESIGNERS; 4 LA SCALA; 5 EXHALE; 7 SHELLAC; 8 EAST; 13 POET-ASTERS; 17 and 23 WROUGHT IRON; 19 UPGRADE; 20 ALIMENT; 21 UNISON.

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(Continued from inside front cover)

3. Mr. Hsu points out that he did not say Chiang Kai-shek could not overthrow Communist rule in China by force, but rather that he could not do so "without colossal American aid."

4. Mr. Hsu disagrees with the reviewer's statement that China "went Communist in a landslide." He does not believe that the Chinese accept the Communist ideology or that they "will long countenance the totalitarian excesses which a minority may indulge in under the influence of that philosophy." He believes that the Chinese have supported the Communists—not "communism"—in order to get lower taxes and an end to graft, and an end to Western domination.

Comment by Lattimore

MR. LATTIMORE'S comments on Mr. Hsu's points, in the same numbered order, are as follows:

1. I appreciate Mr. Hsu's professional purism in distinguishing between anthropology and sociology; but I would point out that his book is an exercise in social anthropology, and that in describing a social anthropologist as a sociologist no diminution of Mr. Hsu's professional standing was intended.

2. Mr. Hsu is quite right in calling attention to the Western influence in Chinese education in Manchuria; but the passage in my review was merely introductory to the main statement that in order of time Mr. Hsu was exposed to Western European influences first and to American influences later.

3. On the question of restoring Chiang Kai-shek to control of China through "colossal American aid," it can reasonably be argued that the aid would have to be so colossal that it would result, if it succeeded at all, in an American conquest of China rather than a "liberation" of China by Chiang.

4. Many people agree with Mr. Hsu's analysis of the reasons for which non-Communist Chinese accepted a government dominated by Communists. I do myself, in large measure. That is why I used quotation marks in saying that China had "'gone Communist.'" But the point still remains: Why did so many Chinese follow, and so many more tolerate, a leadership that appealed with the slogans of communism when they had never on the same scale followed the Kuomintang leaders who used slogans that were in such large part culturally Western, politically democratic, and ethically Christian?

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